THE NATIONAL ERA.

G. BAILEY, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR; JOHN G. WHITTIER, CORRESPONDING EDITOR.

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THE NATIONAL ERA.

WASHINGTON, AUGUST 12, 1850.

For the National Era

SKETCHES OF OUR VILLAGE.

No. 4.

THE MILLER.—CHAPTER I.

BY MARTHA RUSSELL.

"Full merrily rings the millstone round,
Full merrily rings the wheel,
Full merrily sings the miller's maid—
Come, taste my fragrant meal!
"The miller he's a worldly man,
And nanun bae double fee;
So draw the chain in the churl's dam,
And let the stream gae free."
Song of the Elfin Miller.

Far up amid the deep gorges, the tangled thickets, and cedar groves of old Totoket, spring forth numberless mountain brooks, that come leaping and tumbling down the rugged mountain sides, calling to one another in merry musical voices, like children at bide and seek, until wearied with their sport, and catching, as it were, the deep solemn voice of the ocean, they mingle their waters in one channel, and with hushed voices go winding quietly through our village to seek the bosom of their mighty mother.

After this "meeting of the waters," the stream winds along for about two miles, through a broken valley, then making a sudden turn, finds itself imprisoned between two hills, across the southern opening of which is a massive dam, built of great black logs, against which the indignant water dashes and foams, and then subsiding, drips, drips, with an indescribable, mournful murmur, as if bewailing its fate, while the distant voice of old ocean calls in vain for her child. The eastern bank rises in a high bluff, then stretches away in wide pastures, but on the west the ground slopes gradually back, and, sheer from the water's edge, is decked with magnificent oaks, walnuts, and maples, interspersed with here and there a dark and stately cedar. The pond stretches back a half mile or so, and along its margin float the queenly water lilies, like fairy boats, intermingled with tall flags and the tassels of the drooping alders. Close by the dam, and half overhanging the water, as if it ever had a fancy to topple in, stands the white, old mill, with its great wooden-looking wheel, which, like some giant monster, grinds and pounds the limpid water, until it exhales away in glittering spray, or, escaping from its clutches, sighs faintly amid the willow roots and rushes that fringe its bed below the bridge. The floor within is strewed with sacks and powdered over with meal, over which the tracks of the miller and his visiters describe all manner of figures; the cobwebs overhead are coated over until they look like frosted flowers, and the

"Very air about the door,
Is misty with the floating meal."

Here *dwelt* Jedediah Sewall, the miller, for the farm house a few rods west was to him nothing more than a lodging house. Miller Jed, as he was generally called, was a little withered man, with joints ill-used by long labor, and constant exposure to the rough, cold winds of winter. Flesh he had none to speak of, and the tough brown skin stretched over the joints, and clung to the bones, as if it had sometime undergone a baking process. In his mealy suit, with his glittering black eyes peering out from beneath the brim of his white hat and powdered hair, he looked very much like one of the great spiders called up in their white webs on the rafters overhead; and the resemblance was rendered more points than one, for, like the spider, whatever came within his clutches never found its way out again. For more than forty years he had lived in the mill, sniffing the mealy air, shouldering heavy sacks, and compelling the free glad waters to toil for him, while, with his keen eyes bent over the trough, with his long bent fingers he scooped out handful after handful of soft white meal for toll. People said that his fingers were ever ready bent for grasping, but that no one had ever known them to relax under the influence of charity and human love.

Money, money was his dream by day and night—his god; and to it he had sacrificed his manhood—his humanity. True, after maturely counting the cost, he married, late in life, his housekeeper, to save her wages, wisely considering that she would eat no more as his wife than as his housekeeper; and, besides, in this way, he should gain possession of not only what he had paid her, but also the small sum which she already possessed when she came there. There was one result of this marriage, which, although it could hardly fall, in the end, of exerting a humanizing influence over him, seemed for many years to render him only more miserly and grasping. This was the birth of a son, whose existence cost his mother her life. It will be wrong to say that the miller did not dote with a fond love; thrills about his heart as he gazed upon the helpless infant, or a strange sensation of terror and awe as he looked upon the rigid features of her whom he had called wife. But scarce were the clods of the graveyard pressed over her, when his thoughts returned to their wonted channel, and avarice began to repine that she did not live to nurse the child. It would have been such a saving.

But as Death is deaf alike to the voice of Avarice and Love, the old woman who had officiated as nurse to the mother, was retained to take charge of the child, which throve finely under her care, and manifested a fondness for her which gladdened the loue old creature's heart. Isaac, for so they called the boy, was about seven years old before Miller Jed thought of sending him to school. Not that the boy was altogether ignorant, for Widow Barker had taught him the names and habits of the various birds and squirrels that made their homes in the woods behind the house; he knew all the herbs that grew about there, and their uses; and something too of ichthyology he knew, though if old "Grannie Barker," as he called her, had heard that term applied to her lessons, she would have lifted her great-eyed spectacles, and rubbed her forehead in more amazement. Nevertheless, she had often taken him up the borders of the pond with her, in search of greens, or some rare herbs, holding him [closely by the hand, (for though Miller Jed seldom noticed him, yet ever since his wife died he had manifested a great dread of death, and had strictly forbidden Isaac to go near the pond alone,) and pointed out to him the minnows glancing and quilling themselves in the clear waters, the rosy-gilled roach, and the slender, graceful perch. Then, during the long winter evenings, the old woman brought into requisition her library, consisting of her Bible and Hymn Book, and a strangely retentive memory of the most remarkable cases in Fox's Book of Martyrs, which she had met with some time in her younger days. With these the child became early familiar, and to their influences perhaps may be traced his faith as a man. He was a bright, gentle, affectionate boy, a little more thoughtful than is usual for children of his age, owing to the solitary life he led with his old nurse, for they saw no company, save when some farmer chanced to call to see some very choice specimen of grain, or some poor debtor, whose mismanagement or misfortunes had given the old miller a claim upon his property.

How long his father would have kept him at home, with no teacher save the old nurse, if the boy himself had not expressed a wish to go to school, we cannot say. But all through the pleasant spring days the child had seen a tall, spare woman, leading a little girl about his own size, come along the winding cart-path which led through the woods, until they reached a pair of bars by the road side. Here, after helping the little girl over, and placing a gally-colored basket in her hand, the woman left her companion to the path through the woods, after turning to mark the progress of the child as she moved down the green lane. And at about the same hour in the afternoon, when the shadows began to lengthen, the little girl came tripping up the lane, swinging her basket in her hand, and was met, either by the pale-faced woman, or a white-haired old man.

Isaac was very curious about these people, and Widow Barker was not slow to tell him that Mercy Ward, on her way to school; and that she lived with her mother and grandfather at the distance of more than a mile on the other side of the woods. "And an old rickety looking place enough it is now," she added, more to herself than the child, "though I mind me of the time when the Wards held their heads as high as anybody; though for that matter I can't say but they do now; for old Captain Ward has pride enough himself for ten generations."

Widow Barker was no great friend of schools; she thought it a crime deserving little short of hanging, to shut children up all day to pore over books; and as Isaac had gained all his ideas from her, he heartily pitied the little girl, and thought she had much better stay and play with him. He longed to tell her so, but he was a shy boy, and contented himself with watching her morning and evening, as she slipped along by the side of her mother, or with a more demure manner tried to make her uneven steps correspond to the regular pace of her grandfather. It sometimes happened that she arrived at the bars some moments before her friends came to meet her, and on one of these occasions, Isaac, who had been gathering raspberries along the fence, ventured to approach her, and looking up in as pretty a manner as possible, with a primitive fashion, laugh at him by "Grannie Barker," on a long spire of herds-grass, offered to share it with her, The offer was readily accepted, and when Jane Ward came to meet her child, she found her seated on a large flat stone by the side of Miller Jed's boy, her lips and fingers stained to a deep crimson by the rich fruit, gravely striving to overcome his prejudice against schools. Isaac sat on the ground by the broken spinning wheel, which, like some giant monster, grinds and pounds the limpid water, until it exhales away in glittering spray, or, escaping from its clutches, sighs faintly amid the willow roots and rushes that fringe its bed below the bridge. The floor within is strewed with sacks and powdered over with meal, over which the tracks of the miller and his visiters describe all manner of figures; the cobwebs overhead are coated over until they look like frosted flowers, and the

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WASHINGTON, AUGUST 15, 1850.

☞ Will not some of our friends at different post offices, where several subscriptions to the *Era* are now running out, see to it that they are renewed in time? This kind of friendly attention is required to keep up the circulation of a paper conducted rigidly on the cash system, as the *Era* is.

ABSENCE.

Regard for our own health and that of our family requires that we allow ourselves a few weeks respite from editorial labors and anxieties. It is with extreme reluctance we leave while Congress is still in session, but we have endeavored amply to provide for the paper, during the three or four weeks of our absence. There are some matters of interest which call for attention in this number, but we have no time for them now.

CONGRESS OF TUESDAY.

We have only room to announce that on Tuesday the bill for the admission of California into the Union as a State, passed the Senate by a vote of 34 yeas to 18 nays. The vote, together with some account of the proceedings of the day, will be given in our next week's issue. Nothing of importance transpired in the House of Representatives; though a further notice of it will be given next week. We are unable to furnish the yeas and nays upon the final passage of the California bill. They were, however, the same as that upon the engrossment.

PRESIDENTIAL SPECULATION.

It were presumption to attempt to predict at this time the condition of Parties in eighteen hundred and fifty-two; but it is not impossible that the Presidential contest will be confined to two or even three political organizations.

The Washington *Union* is intent on preserving the unity of the old Democratic Party, and declines to see or report any movements in the Northern section of it, calculated to eliminate Southern feelings. The *Southern Press*, aiming at a general disorganization of all Parties, with a view to the formation of a strong Southern organization, in which the venerable distinctions of *Whig* and *Democrat* may be forever hurled, indiscriminately chronicles whatever anti-slavery demonstrations are made by Northern Whigs and Democrats; so as to show the South that slavery can expect no quarter from any class of politicians at the North.

It cannot be denied that in some of the Free States there are indications of a reunion of the jarring elements of Democracy, under the plastic influence of Hunkerism, but nothing has yet occurred to warrant the belief that the Party in all the Free States can be brought to act unitedly in the Presidential campaign of 1852. Even in Indiana, Pennsylvania, and Michigan, where Hunkerism is in the ascendency, there are signs of dissatisfaction; manifest materials of discord, which need but an occasion to produce a serious rupture. The State organ of the Democrats in Indiana, has become an echo of the Washington *Union*, but other journals of the Party maintain an independent tone, and are indisposed to follow its lead. The Democratic leaders in Pennsylvania have mustered strength enough in their State Convention to revoke all that the Democracy of that State has hitherto said against slavery, but Wilmot is there still to remain sound, and we venture the prediction that the next election will show that the back-track policy is a disastrous one. Michigan has been placed in a false position. The minority that relieved General Cass from his instructious misrepresented, we are assured, the Democratic sentiment of the State.

In other States the struggle between the Liberal and Conservative Democrats is going on with varying results. The policy of the latter is to put down Wilmot Provisoism, to suppress all agitation concerning slavery, and to howstring every active opponent of Slavery Extension. Hence, their unrelenting proscription of the honorable Hannibal Hamlin, an avowed, efficient advocate of the Wilmot Proviso. For the sake of defeating his réelection to the Senate of the United States, they were willing to postpone an election, and take the chance of a Whig triumph, and, finally, when forced to a trial, they threw their votes to the last against him, so that his return to the Senate was made to depend upon Free Soil votes. In the House, the whole number of votes was 150, necessary to a choice, 76. Mr. Hamlin received 76; Mr. Evans, (whig,) 46; Mr. Anderson, (Conservative, Compromise Democrat,) 21; Scattering, 6. All the Free Soil members but one voted for Hamlin. In the Senate, the whole number of votes was 29; necessary to a choice 15. Mr. Hamlin received 16; Mr. Evans, 7; Mr. Anderson, 6; Mr. Dreer, 1; blank 1. All the Free-Sollers but one voted for Hamlin.

This election of Mr. Hamlin, the refusal of the Legislature to repeal its anti-slavery instructions for the accommodation of Mr. Bradbury, and the new and stringent resolutions in favor of the Jeffersonian policy of Slavery Restriction, attest the predominance of Liberal Democracy in the State of Maine, and furnish sufficient ground for the prediction that no Hunker candidate for the Presidency in 1852 can call out the Democratic strength of that State.

In Connecticut, the Conservatives claimed a majority in the Legislature, but the signal failure of their strategy to elect one of their own number, United States Senator, and the passage of Wilmot Proviso Resolves by the House of Representatives, exposed their weakness, and overwhelmed them with mortification.

The Democracy of Massachusetts will never dare try a campaign under Pro-Slavery leaders. What its real indications are may be inferred from the large support given to Charles G. Paige, at the last election in his district, by the Democratic voters, in the face of the remonstrances of the *Washington Union*, and its sympathetic co-laborer, the *Boston Post*.

In Vermont, the union of the Democrats and Free-Sollers is maintained, despite the protests of a few disaffected Conservatives; and in the Legislatures of Maine, New Hampshire, and Connecticut, States controlled by what is called the Old Line Democracy, resolves against Compromise and in favor of the Anti-Slavery policy of the Ordinance of 1787, have been lately passed by one or both branches.

The State Democratic Convention of Ohio, held on the 4th of July last, resolved in favor of the immediate and unconditional admission of California as a State; and not a journal of any note belonging to the party in that State, so far as we know, has given any countenance to the Compromise scheme. Some of the "Old Hunker" papers, as they are styled, are censuring the conduct of General Cass, and praising that of Mr. Benton.

"Our confidence," says the *Lorain* (Ohio) *Argus*, the organ of the Old Line Democracy of Lorain county, "in Northern statesmen has been shaken. General Cass and Daniel Webster have not been the men for the occasion. The old Wireworker, Henry Clay, has airedity obained them to his car, and blinded them to the interests of their constituents.

"They are 'weighed in the balance, and found wanting.' It now devolves on the masses to terminate this contest, and allow California a *free* and *immediate* admission into the Union. Let them speak out in terms too definite to be misunderstood, and tell these unfaithful servants to follow the instructions of their constituents, or resign.

"There will be a quaking among the skulking doughfaces, when the thunders of an outraged constituency break upon their ears."

The same paper says of Benton—

"While Northern men cower before the organized forces of Slavery, Benton stands firm in the breach, and repels every assault. His speech of June 10th is a perfect avalanche upon the Compromise Committee. We shall next week publish as much of this valuable document as we can find room for. He puts Clay in any other than an enviable position, and scouts the very idea of a compromise where there is no power to make a compromise, and nothing to be compromised. He proves beyond a doubt, that if the bill should pass, it would extend slavery over a large portion of New Mexico, and fasten that incurable leprosy upon a free country. His position is the more laudable, because he is a Southern man. He is compelled, not only to resist the champions of slavery in Congress, but at Him he launches the anathemas of many. Such a course will doubtless cost him his seat in Congress, but he will earn a name worth a thousand such honors. What a rebuke has this nothing course is upon the cringing poltroons of the North."

To the State of New York we look as the great battle-field between Liberal and Conservative Democracy. The reunion of the two sections has not established harmony between the conflicting opposing principles, has not extinguished the differences of opinion which prevail between the two sections of Democrats all over the country. The Hunker leaders still regard an alliance with the supporters of Slavery as a tower of strength, and find the true representative of their principles and policy in Daniel S. Dickinson, whose reelection to the Senate they seem disposed to make a test question. The Democracy acknowledge no Democracy that does not found itself upon the doctrine of Human Rights, and seek to establish equal and exact justice for all men. The names by which the two classes are known, they no longer use; but their characteristic differences exist in full force. There will soon be a State Democratic Convention, in which the opposing elements will each seek expression and ascendency. If the Convention should succeed in preventing the expression of opinion on Slavery, or forcing through non-committal resolves, and secure the ascendency of men of their own school, the Democracy of New York will be paralyzed or divided; it will lose its power, by the alienation of men of principle, or there will be again two rival organizations. Should the Liberal Democrats prevail, the Democracy of New York will then take its place in the van of the Liberal Democracy of the United States. Its example will determine the character and policy of the Democratic organization in a majority of the non-slaveholding States; everywhere throughout the North the Liberal element will become the controlling one, and in 1852 probably seek in Thomas H. Benton its true Representative.

What is the condition of the Southern section of the Democracy? A portion of it, not the majority, we think, clings to the old national organization, and would be found in the Baltimore in 1852, on the doctrine of Non-Intervention, as expounded by General Cass; but the majority will be satisfied with nothing less than intervention in favor of Slavery. What may be the final result of the conflict between these two factions is a very doubtful question, but it is not at all probable that they can be brought to unite upon one candidate in the next Presidential campaign, if unless they entertain diverse opinions; and in that event, there can be *no* union between the Northern and Southern Democracy. Should a candidate be selected from the school to which Howell Cobb belongs, he may attract the Conservative Democrats of both sections, but he could expect the support of neither the Liberal Democracy of the North, nor the ultra Democracy of the South.

How is it possible that Elements so discordant, Opposites so extreme, Opinions so unqualifiedly committed against each other, can ever be reconciled, or harmonized in one political organization? Where is the Man with name and influence potential enough to still the conflict between the warring Factions, and command order out of this chaos of Contradictions?

It is worthy of remark that the Democratic Party of the South is nearly destitute of leaders of national repute and position, so that even its own journals do not venture to propose any name in connection with the next Presidency. It is not wanting in men of ability, but they have not yet acquired the necessary position, and the more distinguished have disqualified themselves for national distinction, by identifying themselves with extreme pro-slavery opinions. The men of national reputation, and whose names have been spoken of in connection with the Presidential office, belong to the Northern wing of the Party; but their disqualification as candidates is, that in their attempts to conciliate slaveholding support, they have weakened, if not completely undermined, their position in their own section. Lewis Cass has already been tried, and found wanting; and to-day, he is weaker than he was in 1848. The Extremists of the South will never give him their confidence, and his course has disgusted the Liberals of the North. Mr. Buchanan, if anything, is still weaker. He has no attribute that can win enthusiastic support; and though not so obnoxious to the Jefferson Davis school of the South as Mr. Cass, he is no less so to the Liberal Democracy of the North. Were General Scott his competitor, he could not carry the Democracy of his own State. We take it for granted that no enlightened politician dreams of the nomination of either of these venerable gentlemen; they have outlived their chances, and even their special friends would be relieved by the withdrawal of their names, as candidates for Presidential honors.

There is one man, occasionally named, to whom no slaveholder could take reasonable exception, and whose judicial seclusion from political life has saved him, during the existing agitation of the Slavery Question, from the perpetration of any flagrant acts offensive to the Democracy of the North. Were the slaveholders to agree to a final settlement of the Territorial Question, by consenting to the admission of California and New Mexico as States, so that the Question might not enter into the next Presidential contest, they might entertain a hope of rallying the Democratic Party of both sections to the support of a man who had not openly committed himself against slaveholding interests in the course of the Question: but, if they should succeed in dividing California, and rejecting New Mexico as a State, and in passing Territorial Governments, without the Proviso, for Southern California, for Utah, and for New Mexico, they may rely upon it, that the Slavery Question will play a more prominent part in the next Presidential campaign, than it did in the last, that it will shiver to atoms the Democratic Party, and either secure a Whig triumph, or prevent an election of President by the People, throwing it into the House of Representatives, where, if we mistake not the signs of the times, they will meet with an overwhelming discomfiture.

OBSTRUCTION THREATENED.

It has been impossible to ascertain what the extreme Southern members of the Senate intend to do in reference to California. Some suppose that, after a fair discussion, and the use of the ordinary means of parliamentary opposition, they will not attempt by factious measures to thwart the will of the majority. Others see in the policy by which Texas and the Texas Boundary question have been thrust ahead of California, in the three days' speech of Mr. Yulee, and in the speeches impending from the extreme wing of the South, indications of a purpose to stave off all action in regard to the new State. The latter opinion seems to derive confirmation from the following letter in the *Charleston Mercury*, from Mr. Hoart, one of the editors of that paper, who, we may presume, speaks by authority.

[Correspondence of the Mercury.

WASHINGTON, *August* 3, 1850.

"The Senate was not in session to-day, and the proceedings of the House were without interest, the Indian Appropriation bill being under consideration.

"The bill for the admission of California will not be permitted to pass the Senate without resistance, and that of the earnest and most determined character. The friends of the South in that body feel it their duty to oppose and obstruct the aggressive measures of the majority by all the means they can afford by the rules of legislation, and by *these, properly applied and resolutely persisted in, the passage of any measure can be delayed until the day of doom.* To those who profess devotion to the South, while they are terrified at the idea of disunion, this course, no doubt, will be gladly embraced, as it will present the speedy and peaceful, though not actual remedy, by which they may protect the South and preserve the Union. *A sufficient number of Senators have already solemnly pledged themselves to this course to render it effectual*, and if the efforts to admit California with her present boundaries is persisted in, you may expect a protracted session, and a struggle unexampled in our legislative history."

We presume the House will defer action upon any bill connected with the Slavery Question till the California bill he fairly within its grasp.

What then will the ultra Southern men gain by their game of obstruction? Suppose all the questions lie over, who is to lose?

For the National Era.

WINTER'S WAKING.

BY MARY IRVING.

The summer winds have lingered long among the hoary bonghs,
Like a trusting heart's affection at the shrine of early vows;
The "Smile of the Great Spirit" * hath been on us lovingly,
And our hearts have mirrored back its sunshine gratefully.

The summer leaves had changed their robes of beauty long ago,
And left in quiet waiting for their winding-sheet of snow;
But the summer breezes, whispering among the faded flowers,
Had almost won our fancy back to summer's golden hours.

It was well that they departed, in the glory and the calm,
When the sun was shedding brightness, and the air was soft and balmy;
Oh! when we lay our human flowers in the shadow of the tomb,
Do we know that they are taken from "the evil days to come"?

The tempest came at midnight, in its clouded majesty—
We started from our sleeping, and our thoughts were on the sea;
For howling winds, and shrieking blasts, went raving on the land,
But vanished, with the shadows, at the dawning of the day.

Quietly on the hill-top gleams the fresh untrodden snow,
Lost in the emerald girdle of evergreens below;
And everywhere it glances up to greet the dazzled eye—
That purest gift to mortal from the overflowing sky.

The little ones are gambolling amid their silver store,
And the heart's affection exhibited with a joy unfelt before;
I only think upon the poor—the shivering on their way—
But "God will temper to the lambs" the wintry wind today!

December 4, 1849.

* The Indians gave this appellation to the beautiful second summer that has since been christened by their own name.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES AND TEXAS.

We publish on our fourth page the message of the President of the United States, communicating a correspondence between the Federal Executive and the Executive of Texas. The President takes the ground that what is commonly called New Mexico is a Territory of the United States, placed by the Treaty under the protection of the General Government, the Executive Department of which is solemnly bound to enforce the provisions of the Treaty which secures to the New Mexicans the free enjoyment of their property, liberty, and religion; and that should Texas attempt by any civil posse, armed or unarmed, or by her militia, to extend her laws over the Territory, and enforce them, or to obstruct any law of the United States, she becomes a trespasser, and must be resisted by the civil and, if necessary, the whole military power of the Federal Government.

This position of the President is firmly, but mildly taken, and fortified by arguments that must commend it to the good sense of the great majority of the American People, in all sections. A few hot-headed political partisans will attack its message, as a proclamation that the President has drawn his sword against a Sovereign State. Texas has drawn or threatened to draw her sword against the United States, and the President simply calls her attention to the fact that, as the Chief Executive officer of the Federal Government, authorized and obligated to employ the military power, if necessary, to repel any invasion of its laws, he must draw the sword if she attempt to execute her threat. Less than this he could not do. To neglect the high duty of taking care "that the laws be faithfully executed," would be perjury, and justly subject him to impeachment.

Texas is now forewarned. If "Texan militia" march into New Mexico, "there to execute or enforce any law or laws," they become an armed organized trespassers; they are no longer under protection of any lawful authority, and are to be regarded merely as intruders."

The course of action which the President has distinctly marked out for himself, is the same as that resolved on by the late Executive. In the early part of General Taylor's term, it seemed to us that he had no clear conception of the rights and duties of the United States in relation to New Mexico. The orders transmitted from the War Department, to the commanding officer in the Territory, directing him not to resist the efforts of Texas to establish her jurisdiction, favored her aggressive designs upon New Mexico. The country was startled; and every citizen who questioned the fraudulent claim of Texas, was displeased with the attitude apparently assumed by the Chief Executive. The Cabinet could not remain insensible to Public Sentiment; and the Executive must have reconsidered and modified its decision; for, in a message communicated to Congress June 17th, it distinctly stated that the Territory in question was acquired by the United States, had continued in the possession of the United States, and ought so to continue until the boundary should be determined by the competent authority. It is well understood that General Taylor was about to publish a message reënforcing this view, and announcing his purpose to maintain the authority of the Federal Government in New Mexico by all the means placed by the Constitution and laws at his disposal; when death removed him from the scene of earthly action.

But, in another respect, the closing part of President Fillmore's message shows a departure from the policy of the late Executive. Gen. Taylor had advised Congress to forbear all action in relation to New Mexico, till her application for admission as a State, suggesting that the question of boundary might then properly be determined by the Supreme Court. Mr. Fillmore thinks the question which first demands the attention of Congress is this very question of boundary, assuming that "a Government can be established in New Mexico, either State or Territorial, until it shall be first ascertained what New Mexico is, and what are her limits and territories. This he would have determined, not by the Supreme Court, or by a Board of Commissioners—both modes being open to the objection of too much delay—but by an act of Congress, and the assent of the Legislature of Texas—and he favors the policy of giving to Texas an indemnity, not unreasonable and extravagant, but fair, liberal, and awarded in a just spirit of accommodation." For one, so fully convinced are we of the utter groundlessness of the claim of Texas, we should prefer to see the question adjudicated by the Supreme Court; but we have no doubt that the policy recommended by the President will meet the views of the majority in both Houses of Congress. We regret that he did not adhere entirely to the policy of General Taylor; but we rejoice that, so far as his own action is concerned, he has proclaimed his purpose to protect New Mexico, by all the power of the Government, till the conflicting claims respecting her Territory be settled by the competent authority, whatever that may be. In this determination he will be sustained undoubtedly by the American People.

AN AFFRAY—THE ARREST OF WILLIAM L. CHAPLIN.

We copy from the *National Intelligencer* of last Saturday, the following account of a transaction which has excited much sensation in this community:

"An Arrest of Runaway Slaves.—The police of this city succeeded on Thursday night, after a severe conflict, in arresting a white man named *William L. Chaplin*, and a runaway slave named *Allen*, the former being in the act of conveying the slave who was captured, and another named *Garland*, who made his escape, out of the District and the ownership of their masters, towards a free State.

"The police officers having watched the movements of Chaplin, and seen him leave the city about ten o'clock in a carriage, which he drove himself, traced him to a point on the Montgomery road near the residence of Francis P. Blair, Esq. There the officers, Handy, Wollard, Davis, Cox, and Captain Goddard, attempted to stop the carriage, in which were the two runaway negroes. On the attempt being made by Mr. W. Smithis, who accompanied the officers, to seize the reins held by Chaplin, the latter fired a pistol ball at Smithis, which passed through his hat, without injuring him. At the same time, Richard Butt, who also accompanied the officers, Chaplin was secured, after a desperate resistance. The runaways in the carriage having each a revolver, fired several times, but the officers, it is said, fired at the negroes. Not less than twenty-seven shots were fired, and the fight continued for five or six minutes.

"The captured negro was slightly wounded in the back, and would undoubtedly have been killed had not the bullet lodged in his watch, and so protected him. During the course of last night, Allen and the abinotor, *Chaplin*, were both committed to jail yesterday by Justice Goddard. We understand that Chaplin has resided in this city for the last two years, and is a man of enthusiasm, and is said to be from the State of New York."

Of course, the truth cannot be ascertained, till a legal investigation be had.

The transaction, so soon as it become generally known, produced great excitement, and a rumor was industriously circulated that Chaplin was connected with the *National Era* office, and that we were in some way implicated in the affair. Threats of violence were openly denounced against our office and ourselves, and efforts were made to get up a mob; but the friends of order, who knew us, soon corrected all misapprehension, and the conduct of the Mayor and intelligent citizens generally convinced the disorderly that no outbreak would be tolerated. The excitement circulating in the District, with an honorable regard for order, contradicted the false rumor to which we have referred, and refrained from any comment calculated to aggravate popular indignation. While the excitement prevailed, although urged to publish a card disclaiming any connection with the transaction, we did not choose to do so, as we are not accustomed to do anything under compulsion. The storm has blown over, and the community is now calm, it is right and proper to state frankly our views in the case of this deplorable event.

And first, we would do justice to Mr. Chaplin: He has been known to us, as to the Anti-Slavery men throughout the country, for many years. He is a brave, warm-hearted, sincere man, who has long devoted all his energies to the Anti-Slavery cause, without reference to his own interests, entirely independent of all sordid or mercenary motives. His statement of the matter is yet to be made.

In his views of policy he has differed from the great majority of the Abolitionists of the country. He dissented from the Liberty Men who nominated John P. Hale for the Presidency, and from the Free Soil men who sustained Martin Van Buren, and, as is well known in his own State, has been identified with that class of Abolitionists who hold that Congress has constitutional power to abolish slavery in the States.

When visited by the Mayor and Justice Goddard, he stated to them that he had never had any connection with the *National Era* office, or the paper; that, while regarding me with friendly feelings, he had always differed from me on political questions; that, in addition to transactions like that in which he had just been engaged; that, in a word, the *Era* did not go far enough for him and his friends. The statement thus generously made is true. We could wish it were otherwise. Would to God that he and his friends had been able to concur in our views of the proper course of action to be pursued in relation to Slavery. Had they done so, Charles T. Torrey would not have ended his days in a penitentiary, nor would William L. Chaplin now be lying in jail; but both might have been at this moment engaged in a wide and an important field of labor, where their intelligent and philanthropic efforts, directed to the change of the great heart of the nation, would have done far more to promote the emancipation of the whole slave population, than their present course of helping to secure the escape of a few slaves—attempts which cut one off in the prime of his days, and which may doom the other, in the matnrity of his years, to a life-imprisonment.

We shall write no new article to define our position. We do not manufacture opinions to suit an occasion. Actively engaged as an editor in the Anti-Slavery Cause for the last fifteen or sixteen years, we have published, from time to time, substantially, of the mode of action proper in relation to slavery, which we did when we became an opponent of the evil.

In the year 1844, an Anti-Slavery Convention at Albany, New York, issued an address, containing many excellent sentiments, and some things which we deemed objectionable; among the latter, the assertion that slaveholders had no power in the North in going into slave States and "running off" slaves, as it is called. Being at that time editor of the *Cincinnati Morning Herald*, we expressed our dissent strongly, and gave our reasons therefor, as follows:

"The human mind is so constituted that it will attach something dishonorable to that which has to be done in the dark, or by stratagem. He who enters a slave State, to run off a herd of human slaves, can scarcely avoid practicing deception, and of course becoming criminal in the pursuit of a philanthropic object. At all events, if detected, no matter whether he may have uttered a falsehood or not, he appears in the light of a man aiming to secure his object by sinister means, and this of itself creates a strong prejudice against him, reflects odium upon the party with which he is identified, and embarrasses its operations."

Again: "The action of such persons can hardly be preserved from stratagem; it must always appear sinister; it can do nothing towards the extinction of slavery; it must embarrass other and more efficient operations." [This was said many years ago, and we intend no personal application now.]

The *Albany* (N. Y.) *Patriot* took us to task for these sentiments, as follows:

"I cannot withhold the expression of the sincerest regret to see that the *Cincinnati Morning Herald* takes exceptions to our Albany address, in relation to Charles T. Torrey, and those similar to it. I cannot at this moment recall to language of the address, nor is it material to do so. I am sure it cannot be too strong. I receive the fact and varied indignation of the *Herald* gratefully—its ability I have often praised—its independence I admire—but to limp on this point seems to me well nigh fatal to the entire policy of the paper. We have worked hard for ten long years to establish. * * * * * * * As I am a living man, I believe that one hundred men, like C. T. Torrey, could be found, who, with that object, would do more to deliver the slaves speedily than all our paper resolutions, windy speeches, presses, and votes into the bargain. He may not be the best way either for the *Herald* or me to work; I am sorry to say it, we have neither his courage or devotion."

To this we replied in an editorial, dated January 28, 1845. As it was written more than five years ago, while we were publishing a paper in Cincinnati, we shall republish it, that we may not be suspected of moulding our opinions according to our latitude:

"We trust that he and the editor of the *Herald* may always have 'courage and devotion' enough to do their duty. As to the rest, we can but repeat our old protest against the introduction of new tests into our associations. We stand now, precisely, where we stood nine years ago, and have changed our views in no respect, so far as the anti-slavery movement is concerned, except in relation to the *form* of political action. We have never given in our adhesion to what we regard as ultra views of the Constitution of the United States. We do not believe with some class that it is a pure pro-slavery instrument, and therefore a covenant with hell; or with the other, that it is a pure anti-slavery instrument, investing Congress, among its other *ordinary* powers, with the power to abolish slavery in the States. We have never admitted for a moment, that the act of refusing to vote was wrong, or that of voting necessarily involved wrong-doing. We never saw the great good that was to result from the address to the slaves, or conceded the propriety of the advice given the fugitive to take what he chose to deem necessary, in the *free*, as well as slave States, to aid his flight. Nor do we believe slavery to be abolished by the acts of a few persons going into slave States to persuade or assist slaves to escape. All these notions are introduced from time to time, as tests of orthodox anti-slavery sentiment. We never have submitted ourselves to any such tests, and never will.

"The peaceful abolition of slavery in this country, by the voluntary action of the masters, or the power of a Constitutional Legislation, the slaves being at once permitted to choose their own homes, is all we aim at; and this object, we conceive, is to be accomplished by the use of the press, and the pulpit, and the rostrum; and by the action of public sentiment, fully matured by these and other like agencies, through *the ballot box*. The dissolution of the Union, advocated by some; the forcible interference of Congress to put an end to slavery in the States, suggested by others; and the action of a few, occasionally, who pass over into slave States for the purposes of overt acts in conflict with the slave-laws, abominable as we know these laws to be, seem to us wild raving, as we conceive, towards the accomplishment of the great object, so anxiously sought by us all.

"The claim to hold *men* as a piece of property, is impious—it is a gross insult to the whole family of man and blasphemy against God. So far as it exists under the jurisdiction of the General Government, we would endeavor, in any way by our State Government, we would use our extremest political power against it. But, where it exists under State authority, we would not touch it by *force*—we would by every legitimate, efficient means, labor to infuse into the minds of the people thus sustaining it, our own sentiments and feelings, leaving them to not, and coöperating with them, so far as our coöperation could be effective, in this way only. Then, and then only, would our country will be blessed; but, any other than *peaceful* abolition, while it may prove a blessing to some extent, will be a scourge. No violent revolution, however grand and praiseworthy its object, was ever followed by unmixed good. The offspring will bear the stamp of its parent. A nation or people begotten by violence, will be marked by that spirit for many a generation to come. Witness the island empire of Hayti, the anarchial republics of South America, and, must we say it? our own beloved republic, some of whose members have already trampled deliberately, and knowingly, upon the National Constitution."

Such were our views in Cincinnati; they are our views in Washington, where they have been confirmed by a painful observation of the widespread misery, through the breaking up of numerous families, resulting from every transaction like that which has just happened, and of the vast increase of prejudice and misconception, blocking up the avenues to the minds of an exasperated community.

MEETING OF THE SOUTHERN MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

At length we have to congratulate the South on the attainment of greater unity among her representatives than at the last session.

At a meeting held a few evenings since, the following members were appointed a Committee on Resolutions:

Mr. Toombs, Chairman.

Messrs. Seddon, Thompson, Houston, Bowie, Clingman, Burt, Cabell, Hilliard, Morse, Johnson, Morehead, Stanly, and Venable.

We understand that the deliberations of the Committee resulted in almost entire unanimity, and accordingly—

Mr. Toombs, Chairman of the Committee of Fifteen, reported the following resolutions, which were adopted:

1. *Resolved*, That no citizen shall be deprived of his life, liberty, or property, except by the judgment of his peers and the laws of the land; and that the common law, as it existed in the American Colonies on the 4th July, 1776, and the Constitution and laws of the United States applicable to our Territories, shall be the fundamental law of said territory.

2. *Resolved*, That in the event that the non-slaveholding States object thus to put the life, liberty, and property of American citizens under protection of the laws, and insist upon a division of the country on the line of 36° 30', with a distinct recognition and protection of property in slaves—

3. *Resolved*, That we will not vote for the admission of California, unless the Southern boundary be restricted to the parallel of 36° 30' north latitude.

4. *Resolved*, That we will not aggree to any boundary between Texas and New Mexico which proposes to cede to New Mexico any portion of territory south of the parallel of 36° 30' north latitude and west of the Rio Grande, prior to the adjustment of the territorial questions.

5. *Resolved*, That the representatives of the slaveholding States will resist by all usual legislative and constitutional means the admission of the State of California and the adjustment of the other questions pending, until a settlement of the territorial questions.

6. *Be it further resolved*, That the powers and duties of the Committee of Fifteen be continued until the further action of the meeting, and that the Chairman of that Committee, by the concurrence of any three members thereof, may at any time call a meeting of the representatives of the slaveholding States.—*Southern Press*.

We see nothing revolutionary in these resolutions. The opponents of any policy undoubtedly have a right to concoct in caucus the best means of defeating it. Had these gentlemen resolved on *factious* resistance, it would have been a very different matter; but they resolve to do what is entirely legitimate, though impolitic, in our judgment, to "resist by all usual legislative and constitutional means the admission of the State of California and the adjustment of the Texas boundary, until a settlement of the Territorial questions."

We are informed that only about forty of the ninety Southern Representatives were present, and that a large number of them recommended moderate counsels.

LEGISLATING UNDER MENACE.

The ultra Southern men are constantly reminding the majority in Congress that the last Legislature of Georgia passed a resolution authorizing the Governor to convoke it by proclamation, should California be admitted as a State into the Union.

The resolution was a foolish one, and was passed by a party vote. No other State has followed the example; and we confess we see nothing dreadful in the idea of an extra session of the Georgia Legislature. If the politicians there be disposed to amuse themselves with such devices, let them. California once in the Union, it will puzzle the extra Legislature of Georgia to get her out.

A telégraphic despatch received from St. Louis states that Messrs. Darby, Porter, and Miller, Whig Congressional candidates, are elected. Sufficient returns have not been received from the other two districts to fix the result with certainty. The Legislature, so far as returns had come into St. Louis at noon yesterday, stood 35 Whigs, 11 Bentonians, and 10 Anti-Bentonians.

THE MORMONS AND THEIR CITY OF REFUGE.

Between four and five thousand feet above the ocean level, on the eastern rim of the Great Basin, in whose unexplored deserts the waters of the Rocky Mountains and the Sierra Nevada of California are lost, an inland salt sea stretches northwesterly from latitude 40° to 42°, and between 112° and 114° of longitude. Up to the year 1843, little was really known of this vast body of water, its shapes and tributaries, as the accounts given by half-breed hunters and wandering Indians, in their visits to Fort Hall and other trading posts on the route from Missouri to Oregon, had been as vague and unsatisfactory as they were marvellous.

It was reserved for the adventurous Fremont to explore, with something like scientific accuracy, these strange regions. Following the windings of the Bear River—its principal tributary—through a wild maze of Mountains, of the vast Wahsh Range, on a gusty September morning he looked down upon the great object of his toilsome exploration, the Sea of the mountains. Checkered with the shadows of clouds, and broken here and there by rocky islands and mountain headlands, it stretched westward beyond the limit of vision. The annals of modern discovery have nothing of more exciting interest than the partial exploration of this unknown sea, by the young adventurer and his companions, in a frail and illcontrived boat-hewn from a pine-tree. The Indians whom they encountered had never launched a canoe upon the lake, and, as it had no apparent outlet, they imagined there was a great whirlpool in its midst, which swallowed up its surplus waters. Our travellers were the first to visit its mysterious islands, and break with the cheerful sound of human voices its long solitude and silence.

"They were the first that ever burst
Into that silent sea."

The lateless of the season rendered the stay of Fremont brief, and his explorations imperfect. After spending a night on an island in the Lake, listening to the roar of the salt-surf beating on the rocks, and making two or three days' marches along its marshy borders, and hastily settled its latitude and longitude, and taken some notice of the characteristics of the soil and vegetation of the valley in which it lies, he left, regretfully, this strange and interesting region, to pursue his journey to California, along the skirts of the Great Basin, and across the Snowy Sierra. For two or three years, nothing further was known of the Great Salt Lake.

In the mean time, the Mormons, or Latter Day Saints, as they love to call themselves, had been expelled by mob violence from Illinois. A city of some twenty-thousand inhabitants was left untenanted; and square miles of ripened grain were abandoned to the sun and rains of autumn and the snows of winter. The wretched exiles had little leisure for preparation for their long, unresting journey. Many of them were in search of a new home, out of the reach of civilized inhumanity. Bearing with them their aged and infirm, their sick and dying, they passed in mournful processions through the streets of Nauvoo, and through their corn fields and orchards, the fruit of which they could no longer gather. Pausing on the swell of the last wave of prairie from whence the gilded spire of the great Temple was visible, they bade farewell to the work of their homes, hearths, and altars, and then set their faces resolutely towards the setting sun:

"Some untreat tears they dropped, but wiped them soon;
The world was all before them, where to choose
Their place of rest, and Providence their guide."

The last sad cavalcade left Nauvoo in the autumn of 1846. It had been preceded by several others, who had engaged to prepare the way for those who should come after. Delayed by sickness and want of the necessary vehicles and teams for their journey, and desirous to unite the numerous camps of exiles, scattered from the Mississippi to the Missouri, the early summer of 1846 found the pioneer encampment at Council Bluffs, near the Pottawattomie Indian agency.

On the table land, "High Prairie," which here crowd upon the river, and on the broad alluvial flats below them, the tents of the modern Israel were pitched. A traveller, Thomas L. Kane, Esq., of Philadelphia, from whose graphic and brilliant "*Discourse before the Pennsylvania Historical Society*" we have derived many of the materials of this sketch, has described their appearance as he first reached them, on a bright June morning. Each hill was crowned with its great camp, white with canvas, and the valleys filled with swarming occupants. The smoke of a thousand cooking fires streamed lazily upwards. Herd-boys were dozing on the slopes, with sheep and oxen, cows and horses, around them, numbering many thousands. Children, almost as numerous, were playing about the camps. Women were washing clothes along a little creek; blacksmiths, tailors, and armorers were busy in the open air, or under the shade of tents. Great arbors made of poles and brush, and wattled with willow and birch, served them for places of religious worship and halls of council. It was here that the famous Mormon battelion for the Mexican war was recruited. On the eve of its departure, a farewell ball was got up in primitive style, under the shelter of the largest arbor. Grave Elders and Chiefs of the Tribe of Ephraim took part in the dance, and kept up with great animation until the sun had dipped behind the sharp outline of the Omaha hills. "Then," says the writer to whom we have referred, "silence was called, and a well-cultivated mezzo-soprano voice, belonging to a young lady with fair face and dark eyes, gave, with quartette accompaniment, a little song, a version of a favorite air of the Methodist church:

"By the rivers of Babylon we sat down and wept;
We wept when we remembered Zion!"

There was danger of some expression of feeling when the song was over, for it had begun to draw tears; but, breaking the quiet with his hard voice, an Elder dismissed the gathering, and asked Heaven to bless all who, with purity of heart and brotherly love in the feeling, had made it a holy society." After the departure of the battalion, the exiles moved on, organized in companies of tens, fifties, and hundreds, all under the direction of the High Council of the Church. Upon the rich but unhealthy delta between the Nebraska and the Missouri, they again pitched their tents, and waited for the straggling emigrants of their faith to overtake them. Decimated by sickness, the winter found them still in the border regions of Missouri and Iowa, where, divided into several encampments, they were enabled to sustain themselves and a considerable portion of their cattle. Early in the spring of 1847, a body of one hundred and forty picked men, with seventy wagons, started, under the direction of the members of the High Council, in search of a favorable location for a permanent settlement. They carried with them little save seed and farming tools, it being their aim to plant crops at the place selected. Crossing the South Pass, they struggled through the defiles and over the spurs of the Rocky Mountains, forcing their way over the rugged Utah range, sometimes creeping along the stony bed of torrents, and sometimes cutting their way through heavy timber. At length, in midsummer, they reached the valley of the Great Salt Lake. The High Council, after a careful survey of the country, decided that the land of Promise had at last been reached, and that the Tabernacles of the Mormon Israel should be set up. Late as was the season, roots and seeds were planted, from which a partial harvest was obtained. They were soon joined by other detachments from the main body, and also by a part of the Mormon Battalion from California. They sowed large fields of grain, built houses, and formed themselves houses of sun-dried brick, fortifying themselves with walls and block-houses, and safely passed the winter of 1847–'8. In the course of the next year, the residue of the Nauvoo emigrants reached the valley, loaded with grain raised on the plains of their encampments on the Missouri and Nebraska. A detailed account of this remarkable *Exodus* would exhibit in strange alliance the shifty enterprise, practical energy, and shrewd calculation of modern utilitarianism,

nised a seat to the delegate from New Mexico, although the latter made no secret of his hostility to the institution of slavery, and although the anti slavery Constitution of his constituents was on the desks of Congress, and the question of his admission was complicated with the claim of Texas. This timid, indecisive policy on the part of Utah, while it has failed to secure the favor of the South, has not commended anything in her on the part of the North. No possible good can come of it. Let Utah take her stand by the side of California and New Mexico as a free State, and, like them, present herself at the door of the Union with the Declaration of Independence embodied in her Constitution. This will settle the question more effectually than twenty compromise bills. It would not be possible for the ultra slave faction to resist the united will of the inhabitants of the entire acquisition from Mexico. The three-fold cord could not be broken. Besides, it becomes the people of Utah to consider that, in their peculiar circumstances, the religious faith for the quiet enjoyment of which they have made so many sacrifices will be justly held responsible for their action in this matter. Toleration of slavery will not be likely to facilitate the popular recognition of their claim as Saints of the Latter Day. The condition of many of the new seats in the country, rent and divided on the question of slavery, should be an effectual warning to them to meet the evil at the outset, and exclude forever from their community an element of perpetual contest and disturbance. The time for action has fully come. A decision between freedom and slavery is pressed upon them. God grant that it may be made in accordance with sound policy and the claims of humanity. J. G. W.

LITERARY NOTICES.

Reginald Hastings. By Eliot Warburton. New York: The Harpers. For sale by Franck Taylor, Pennsylvania avenue, Washington.

This is a tale of the troublous times of the civil war in England in the seventeenth century, in the form of an autobiography, in which a strong light is thrown upon the social life of that period. Warburton, it will be remembered, is the author of "Hochelaga," "The Crescent and the Cross," &c.

Letter Annold and Lizzie Wilson. Boston: E. Littell & Co. For sale by W. Adam, Pennsylvania avenue, Washington.

Mr. Littell has given to the public, in a very neat form, these two beautiful stories, from the pen of the accomplished author of Emilia Wyndham.

Graham's American Monthly. September. For sale as above.

This popular Magazine came to us with its usual attractions. Among the contributors, we observe our friend, Dr. Wm. Elder, who has furnished an abstruse article on the Doctrine of Forms, in his characteristic style.

Dictionary of Mechanics' Engine Work and Engineering. Oliver Byrne, editor. New York: D. Appleton & Co. For sale by R. Farnham, Pennsylvania avenue, Washington.

Numbers 14 and 15 of this valuable and important work have been received. We see no reason to change the opinions of it we formerly expressed.

Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine. July, 1850. New York: Leonard Scott & Co. For sale by W. Adam, Bookseller, Washington, D. C.

We see by the paper in this number part 11th of the story of the "Green Hand." It has kept alive a monthly interest in us for the last year; and should it continue another year, we shall read on with interest unflagging. The political articles are bigoted, and strictly conservative, but it is worth while to read them for the sake of keeping in lively remembrance the notions of a past age.

The number before us commences a new volume, presenting a proper occasion for new subscribers to the Magazine, whose reputation is world-wide.

Progress in the Northwest. By W. D. Gallagher. Cincinnati: H. W. Derby.

We are indebted to our Cincinnati friends for copies of this publication. An annual discourse delivered before this Historical Society of Ohio, by its President, Wm. D. Gallagher, the poet and literary pioneer of the West. As might be expected, it abounds in valuable statements of the resources of the Northwest—just and comprehensive views of its duties and destiny. We hope our esteemed friend, the author, will soon find time to complete the series of which these articles he commenced some months since for the *Era*, treating on the subject which is the theme of this discourse.

Buchanan's Journal of Man. Cincinnati, Ohio.

This journal is a tri-monthly, of sixty-five pages, published at one dollar per volume of twelve numbers. It is a *unique* publication, embodying the bold theories and curious researches of its editor in anthropology. His field of labor is unlimited, and he is a most indefatigable, untiring worker. We are startled by some of his theories, half incredulous at some of his experiments, but never feel inclined to deride or undervalue the labors of one who, with so much assiduity and ingenuity, is endeavoring to throw light upon the dark path of man. We cannot hesitate to commend his publication to our readers.

Pendennis. By W. M. Thackeray. New York: The Harpers. For sale by Franck Taylor, Washington, D. C.

Number 5 of the history of Pendennis, his fortunes and misfortunes, his friends and his greatest enemy, has been laid on our table. It is a most amusing, if not a veritable history.

Life and Correspondence of Robert Southey. The Harpers. New York. For sale as above.

Part fourth comprises Mr. Southey's entertaining correspondence, between the ages of thirty-eight and forty-five. The work will be completed in two more numbers.

Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution. By Benson J. Lossing. Published and for sale as above.

We have reviewed four numbers of this beautiful publication, noticed some weeks since in our paper. It is got up in a very handsome style, and, with its fine illustrations by pen and pencil of Revolutionary Life, must prove a delightful family book.

Antonina: or the Fall of Rome. By W. Wilkie Collins. Published and for sale as above.

This romance of the fifth century, we have not had time to read, but we have seen it very highly spoken of in newspapers and reviews.

Gibbon's Rome. The Harpers: New York. For sale as above.

We acknowledge our obligations to the publishers, for the fourth and fifth volumes of this standard republication. The energy with which they carry on this noble enterprise is worthy of all praise. We have spoken before of the peculiar value of this convenient edition of Gibbon.

Life and Letters of Thomas Campbell. Edited by William Beattie, M. D. Two volumes. New York: The Harpers. For sale as above.

The Harpers have done well in giving this biography of a true son of genius to the American public. Campbell has always been a favorite of ours, and we thank the biographer for the affectionate spirit in which he has exhibited the life of his friend. We cannot do better at this time than to quote the following paragraph from a letter of Washington Irving, concerning the merits of this work:

"It is," he says, "a great act of justice to the memory of a distinguished man, whose character has not been sufficiently known. It gives an insight into his domestic as well as his literary life, and lays open the springs of all his actions, and the causes of all his contrariety of conduct. We now see the real difficulties he had to contend with in the early part of his literary career; the world-like cares which pressed upon his spirit to the earth whenever it would wing its way to the skies. The domestic afflictions tugging at his heart-strings even in his hours of genial intercourse, and converting his very smiles into spasms; the anxious days and sleepless nights preying upon his delicate organization, and producing that morbid sensitiveness and nervous irritability which at times, concealed the real sweetness and amenity of his nature, and obscured the unbounded generosity of his heart."

Mr. Irving's kind and generous praise from one who, as he himself confesses, once entertained an erroneous opinion of Campbell's character.

Elementary Sketches of Moral Philosophy. By Mark Hopkins, D. D., LL. D., A. M. New York: The Harpers. For sale as above.

In a series of popular colloquial lectures, delivered to a miscellaneous audience, and compended within a duodecimo of less than four hundred pages, we cannot expect an elaborate and complete survey of the field of moral and mental philosophy. But, we differ in opinion from the writer of a note prefixed to the volume, who says the lectures "are scarcely more than an enumeration of those great men that have originated and trented on this important science, with a short account of their various opinions, and frequent compilations from their works." He certainly makes use of the writings of these great men, but Sydney Smith was accustomed to do his own thinking and writing; and this volume of fragmentary discourse is imbued with the writer's own genius, enlivened by his characteristic fancy and humor.

A Treatise on the Unconstitutionality of American Slavery. By Joel Tiffany, Esq. Published by J. Calyn, Cleveland, Ohio.

This author is a lawyer of character and experience, possessing unusual powers of condensation. The work comprehends a pretty full examination of the powers and duties of the Federal Government in relation to slavery. The whole subject is admirably arranged, and treated with unusual perspicuity, in the compressed 114 pages of this volume, beginning with the doctrines entertained by those who founded our Government. The author shows clearly their intention to arrange its powers on the side of *freedom*, separated from every obligation to sustain or uphold the institution of slavery. His quotations from Washington, Jefferson, Sherman, Martin, and others, are conclusive proofs that their objects were the support and maintenance of human rights, and opposition to oppression. It is a work of research, and should be read by every person who desires an accurate knowledge of the great question which now absorbs the attention of the people of the United States.

CONGRESS.

THIRTY-FIRST CONGRESS.—FIRST SESSION.

SENATE.

Tuesday, August 6, 1850.

The Senate, after some discussion, adopted a resolution instructing the Committee on Military Affairs to inquire into the expediency of conferring by law the brevet rank of Lieutenant General on Major General Scott, in consideration of his distinguished services rendered in the late war with Mexico.

The Texan boundary bill introduced by Mr. Pierce was taken up and made the special order to-morrow.

The Senate proceeded to the consideration of the California bill.

Mr. Turney submitted an amendment for the admission of California, after the restriction of her southern boundary by the line of 36° 30', and on Mr. Hunter's objections to going into a member; and also for running the Missouri Compromise line to the Pacific. Pending this, the President's Message concerning Texas and New Mexico was read, and ordered to be printed. The question was then taken on the amendment of Mr. Turney, with the following result:

Yeas—Messrs. Atchison, Badger, Barnwell, Bell, Berrien, Butler, Clemens, Davis of Mississippi, Dawson, Downs, Foote, Houston, Hunter, King, Mason, Morton, Pearce, Rusk, Sebastian, Soulé, Turney, and Yulee—24.

Nays—Messrs. Baldwin, Benton Bradbury, Bright, Cass, Clarke, Cooper, Davis of Massachusetts, Dickinson, Dodge of Wisconsin, Dodge of Iowa, Douglas, Ewing, Felch, Greene, Hale, Hamlin, Jones, Norris, Phelps, Seward, Shields, Smith, Spruance, Sturgeon, Underwood, Upham, Wales, Walker, Whitcomb, and Winthrop—32.

[No members from a free State voting for it, while four from the slave States—Benton, Underwood, Wales, and Spruance—voted against it.]

Mr. Yulee submitted an amendment, as a substitute for the amendment, and for continuing the existing Government not as a State, but as a Territorial Government.

[Mr. Yulee commenced a speech in support of it, but soon gave way for a motion to adjourn, which was ruled down. He proceeded, giving way for various motions, intended to compel the majority to abandon their purpose of taking the question on the final passage of the bill, before adjournment. The yeas and nays were called some half dozen times, occasionally the Senate found itself without a quorum. At last, Mr. Douglas said that as several friends of California who had promised to stand by the bill had gone home, and abandoned her, he would move an adjournment, and at five o'clock the Senate adjourned.]

Wednesday, August 7, 1850.

The Texan boundary bill was taken up. Mr. Underwood commenced afresh on the subject. He said he would have much rather not open the settlement of the slavery agitation. It had no connection with slavery, and its settlement should not be in the manner he would adopt. The bill proposed to pay Texas ten millions of dollars. This assumed that territory was to be purchased of Texas, and that Texas had a right to the territory. He denied both. [Washington, Ms.]

He did not wish to purchase any territory from Texas. If Texas owned the territory, he desired she should retain it for it would then be a slave territory. He was for no such thing. The diffusion of slavery, which he considered was the best means to enable the present slave States to relieve themselves, was his great object in the population. He was proceeding with this branch of the subject, when he gave way to

Mr. Douglas, who moved, and the bill was postponed till to-morrow at 11½ o'clock.

The Senate then proceeded to the consideration of the California bill, and Mr. Yulee resumed his speech in support of his amendment.

When Mr. Yulee had closed, Mr. Hale said that he had been speaking hurriedly with a desire to bring his remarks to a close, but, feeling much exhausted, he would, in what he had to say, speak more slowly.

Mr. Davis of Mississippi said that because of the exhausted state of the Senator from Florida, which he was sure to have in Executive session, he moved the bill be postponed till to-morrow.

Mr. Douglas called for the yeas and nays, which were ordered.

And the question being taken, the Senate refused to postpone the bill by the following vote:

Yeas—Messrs. Atchison, Badger, Barnwell, Bell, Berrien, Butler, Clemens, Davis of Mississippi, Dawson, Downs, Foote, Hunter, King, Mason, Morton, Sebastian, Soulé, Turney, and Yulee—19.

Nays—Messrs. Baldwin, Benton, Bradbury, Bright, Cass, Clarke, Davis of Massachusetts, Dickinson, Dodge of Wisconsin, Dodge of Iowa, Douglas, Ewing, Felch, Greene, Hamlin, Hunter, Jones, Norris, Phelps, Seward, Shields, Smith, Spruance, Sturgeon, Upham, Wales, Walker, and Winthrop—30.

Mr. Yulee said that, from the vote just taken, by which the Senate refused to postpone the bill, extending to him an ordinary courtesy, and one which could never have been denied, were it not for an almost ferocious desire to force California into the Union, he felt that he would forsake what it had to expect when the North could have supreme power. He then pursued the history of the various compromises made between the North and the South.

[He continued his speech until the same movements began to be made, as had resulted in the adjournment the day before. Motions to adjourn and postpone, alternating with each other, and calls for the yeas and nays, at last forced an adjournment at a late hour.]

Thursday, August 8, 1850.

The consideration of the Texan boundary bill was resumed, and Mr. Underwood continued his remarks, arguing against the claim of Texas to the territory in controversy, and denouncing as extravagant the sum proposed to be given to her.

Mr. Pearce moved to amend the fifth section by striking out all after the words "Provided, also," and inserting, "in no more than five millions of said stock shall be issued until the creditors of the State, holding bonds and other certificates of stock of Texas, for which duties on imports were specially pledged, shall first file in the Treasury of the United States a release of all claim against the United States, for or on account of said bonds or certificates, in such form as shall be prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury, and approved by the President of the United States."

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. Clemens moved an amendment, but a vote of 32 to 18, to postpone the bill, and take up the California bill.

Mr. Ewing moved an amendment, altering the boundaries proposed by the bill, so as to secure a greater amount of territory to New Mexico; but after debate it was rejected—yeas 21, nays 28.

Mr. Dayton moved an amendment securing to the United States the right of way through public lands of Texas. Rejected—yeas 17, nays 31.

Mr. Mason moved the following, which was adopted.

"*Provided*, That nothing herein contained shall be construed to impair or qualify anything contained in the third article of the 2d section of the 1st article of the treaty of 30th December to the United States,' approved March 1, 1845, either as regards the number of States that may hereafter be formed out of the State of Texas or otherwise."

Mr. Baldwin moved, and that part of the bill wherein it is proposed that Texas shall release to the United States the "territory" was amended by inserting the words "claim to."

Mr. Winthrop, with a view to make the bill one for which he could vote, moved to strike out the first section, (which is merely a preparatory series of Texas,) and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"The State of Texas will agree that her boundary on the north shall commence at that point in the middle of the deepest channel in the Rio Grande del Norte, where the same is crossed by the one hundred and second degree of longitude west from Greenwich, and run thence northward, thence north along that longitude to the thirty-fourth degree of north latitude; thence eastwardly to the point at which the one-hundredth degree of west longitude crosses the Red river."

The President of the Senate laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States, which was read, and ordered to be printed.

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

It has been suggested to me that the language in the first paragraph of my message to the two Houses of the State of the 6th instant may create the idea that Governor Bell's letter to my predecessor was received by him before his death. It was addressed to him, but happens, in point of fact, to have been sent to me from the post office after his death.

I make this communication to accompany the message and prevent misapprehension.

Millard Fillmore.

Washington, August 8, 1850.

The Senate adjourned—yeas 27, nays 24.

Friday, August 9, 1850.

Mr. Winthrop withdrew his amendment to the Texan boundary bill.

A motion, by Mr. Underwood, to amend by striking out and inserting the boundary proposed by the Compromise Committee, was lost—yeas 24, nays 27.

Mr. Mason offered a substitute, affirming the right of Texas to all territory she claimed. Rejected—yeas 14, nays 37.

The bill was then reported to the Senate, and the amendments adopted in Committee of the Whole were agreed to.

Mr. Underwood renewed his amendment, but it was rejected—yeas 25, nays 28.

Mr. Davis of Massachusetts moved to strike out "ten millions," and insert "six millions." Rejected—

Yeas—Messrs. Baldwin, Bright, Chase, Clarke, Davis of Massachusetts, Dodge of Wisconsin, Felch, Greene, Hamlin, Norris, Phelps, Seward, Spruance, Turney, Underwood, Upham, Wales, Walker, Whitcomb, and Winthrop—20.

Nays—Messrs. Atchison, Badger, Bell, Berrien, Cass, Clemens, Cooper, Davis of Mississippi, Dawson, Dickinson, Dodge of Iowa, Douglas, Ewing, Foote, Houston, Hunter, King, Mason, Morton, Pearce, Rusk, Sebastian, Shields, Smith, Sturgeon, and Yulee—29.

Mr. Felch then moved his amendment, but it was rejected—yeas 24, nays 26.

Mr. Sebastian offered an amendment, to attach to that part of the bill relating to the United States all her claims to territory exterior to the limits and boundaries which she agrees to establish by the first article of the agreement, a condition that such territory shall be ceded to the States, and admitted into the Union with Constitutions with or without a clause recognising slavery therein, as the people of said Territory shall determine.

Messrs. Sebastian, Douglas, and Benton, made a few remarks, when the amendment was rejected—yeas 18, nays 29.

Mr. Bradbury briefly gave his reasons why he should vote for the bill, and expressed his belief that it was important to the interests of the country that the question should be settled.

The bill was then ordered to be engrossed for a third reading—yeas 27, nays 24;

And then passed—yeas 30, nays 20, as follows:

Yeas—Messrs. Baldwin, Bright, Bradbury, Bright, Cass, Clarke, Clemens, Cooper, Davis of Massachusetts, Dawson, Dickinson, Dodge of Iowa, Douglas, Felch, Foote, Greene, Houston, King, Norris, Pearce, Phelps, Rusk, Shields, Smith, Spruance, Sturgeon, Wales, Whitcomb, and Winthrop—30.

Nays—Messrs. Atchison, Badger, Barnwell, Benton, Butler, Chase, Davis of Mississippi, Dodge of Wisconsin, Ewing, Hale, Hunter, Mason, Morton, Seward, Soulé, Turney, Underwood, Upham, Walker, and Yulee—20.

The Senate adjourned.

Saturday, August 10, 1850.

The Senate proceeded to the consideration of the California bill. Mr. Yulee resumed his remarks, and at their close the question was taken on his substitute—yeas 17, nays 34, as follows:

Yeas—Messrs. Atchison, Berrien, Clemens, Davis of Mississippi, Dawson, Hunter, King, Mason, Morton, Sebastian, Turney, and Yulee—13.

Nays—Messrs. Badger, Baldwin, Bell, Benton, Bradbury, Bright, Cass, Chase, Clarke, Cooper, Davis of Massachusetts, Dickinson, Dodge of Wisconsin, Dodge of Iowa, Douglas, Ewing, Felch, Foote, Greene, Hale, Hamlin, Norris, Pearce, Phelps, Seward, Shields, Smith, Spruance, Sturgeon, Upham, Wales, Walker, Whitcomb, and Winthrop—34.

Mr. Foote offered an amendment, making certain grants to California, on condition of her relinquishing her southern boundary by the line of 36° 30'. Rejected—yeas 13, nays 29.

Mr. Turney submitted an amendment, to the effect that the Constitution of California, shall pass an ordinance acknowledging that the public lands belong to the United States, and exempt them from taxation; that the property of nonresidents shall not be taxed higher than those of residents, &c.; and that the southern boundary shall be the line of 36° 30'; the State to be admitted on the proclamation of the President of the United States.

Mr. Soulé proceeded to address the Senate in support of the amendment, but yielded to

Mr. Dodge of Iowa, who moved, and the bill was postponed till Monday.

Monday, August 12, 1850.

After the usual space allotted to the business of the morning, the Senate proceeded to the consideration of the bill for the admission of California into the Union.

The question pending was an amendment submitted by Mr. Turney, the principal feature of which was the restriction of the limits of the State to the parallel of 36° 30'. Upon this amendment a debate ensued, which was participated in by Messrs. Soulé, Douglas, and Foote.

The question was taken on the amendment of Mr. Turney, and it was rejected—yeas 20, nays 30, as follows:

Yeas—Messrs. Atchison, Badger, Barnwell, Bell, Berrien, Butler, Clemens, Davis of Mississippi, Dawson, Downs, Foote, Hunter, King, Mason, Morton, Pratt, Rusk, Sebastian, Soulé, Turney, Underwood, and Yulee—20.

Nays—Messrs. Baldwin, Bradbury, Bright, Cass, Chase, Cooper, Davis of Massachusetts, Dickinson, Dodge of Wisconsin, Dodge of Iowa, Douglas, Ewing, Felch, Greene, Hale, Hamlin, Hunter, Miller, Norris, Phelps, Seward, Shields, Smith, Spruance, Sturgeon, Upham, Wales, Walker, Whitcomb, and Winthrop—30.

The question was then stated on ordering the bill to be engrossed for a third reading.

The debate was resumed by Messrs. Berrien, Cass, and Davis of Massachusetts; after which, Mr. Hunter addressed the Senate.

The yeas and nays being taken, the Senate refused to adjourn—yeas 21, nays 30, as follows:

Yeas—Messrs. Atchison, Barnwell, Bell, Berrien, Butler, Clemens, Davis of Mississippi, Dawson, Downs, Foote, Hunter, King, Mason, Morton, Pratt, Rusk, Sebastian, Soulé, Turney, Underwood, and Yulee—21.

Nays—Messrs. Baldwin, Bradbury, Bright, Cass, Chase, Cooper, Davis of Massachusetts, Dickinson, Dodge of Wisconsin, Dodge of Iowa, Douglas, Ewing, Felch, Greene, Hale, Hamlin, Miller, Norris, Phelps, Seward, Shields, Smith, Spruance, Sturgeon, Upham, Wales, Walker, Whitcomb, and Winthrop—30.

The question was then put on ordering the bill to be engrossed for a third reading.

Mr. Dodge of Wisconsin moved that the bill be postponed till to-morrow; and on this the yeas and nays being taken, the Senate refused to postpone the bill—yeas 21, nays 31, as follows:

Yeas—Messrs. Atchison, Barnwell, Bell, Berrien, Butler, Clemens, Davis of Mississippi, Dawson, Downs, Foote, Hunter, King, Mason, Morton, Pratt, Rusk, Sebastian, Soulé, Turney, Underwood, and Yulee—21.

Nays—Messrs. Baldwin, Bradbury, Bright, Cass, Chase, Cooper, Davis of Massachusetts, Dickinson, Dodge of Wisconsin, Dodge of Iowa, Douglas, Ewing, Felch, Greene, Hale, Hamlin, Miller, Norris, Phelps, Seward, Shields, Smith, Spruance, Sturgeon, Upham, Wales, Walker, Whitcomb, and Winthrop—30.

Mr. Davis of Mississippi

THE NATIONAL ERA

For the National Era.

THE FALL OF HUNGARY.

BY THE WORKSHOP BARD.

Storm olonds have overcast thy sky,
And fearfully the furious blast
Hath swept thee, smitten Hungary!
But o'er thy heritage it passed!
Thy free bold hearts, who firmly stood,
Have stained the Theiss with their blood.

One pealing shout, one rallying call,
Rang from her wild Carpathian hills;
The startled Austrian warhost saw
Each patriot beam throbs and thrills,
As Kossuth's voice rings to the sky,
"Strike we for God, and Hungary."

Up from each green and sunny plain,
Down from each rugged mountain slope,
Thick as the ears of hearded grain,
Stern, serried ranks came sweeping on,
And mountain gorge and rocky glen
Echoed the tramp of marshalled men.

Fire leaped from every flashing eye,
Wrath crouched on every knitted brow;
Drawn sabres gleamed a quick reply,
As Austria bade them hastily bow,
Or, girding to the strife amain,
Array'd their might of Hungary.

Down, like an avalanche of wrath,
They rushed upon their Cossack foes,
Sweeping their legions from the path,
With fiery charge and deadly blows;
Rank upon rank was crushed and riven,
As by a lightning stroke from Heaven.

Proud Austria's Croats and Kneta's horder,
Armed to the teeth in triple steel,
Are sorely pressed by Hungary's swords,
The proud Magyar is on their heel;
Dombikuk's shout rings quick and loud,
As pea's the bolt from summer cloud.

Thy hour, thy glorious hour, had come—
Thy triumph assured we deem to hear,
O God! our hearts were stricken dumb—
A Gorgey's treacherous career
Hath done what Croats and Cossack hordes
Could not achieve with sgeare and swords.

No more the conquering arm of Bem
Leads on thy host through gorge and glade,
With flashing sabre pointing them
Where thunders the fierce cannonade,
Shouting his battle cry, in deadly ire,
O'er a red track of blood and fire.

No more we'll hear, at dawn of day,
The cheering shout, "the clanging horn,"
Wind from the turrets, cold and gray,
Of the old convent of Comorn;
Thy patriot dead are round it sleeping
On their loved soil, in Death's cold keeping.

Around thy desolated home,
Thy daughters' binding sear-drops fall—
Father, my mother is no more!
Back to the old ancestral hall—
Dead on the gory battle field,
Each pillowed on his battered shield.

How must thy noble spirits feel,
To see their country's banners float,
While Russia's Bear is on thy heel,
And Austria's grip is on thy throat!
Heavens! there are chaféd hearts that falu
Would send their standards down again.

God help thee, hapless "Father-land"!
Thy glorious heritage and pride
Were treated in a traitor's hand,
A base and guilty parricide.
Gorgey, thy country shall be
A curse, a taunt, a mockery.

Go hide within the Kremlin's wall,
Thou traitor vile to Hungary's weal;
Go where her bleeding martyrs fall,
Writhing beneath the Russian's steel—
Where strangling cord, at Haynau's beck,
Does round each noble patriot's neck.

Hear, if thou canst, her fiery curse,
Found mesaurless upon thy head;
Her gory toil in shame shall nurse
The bones of her unburied dead,
Through Kossuth, call on sons and sires,
"Curse ye the traitor, O Magyars!"[*]

Let Kossuth forge her iron bands,
Thy[†] country's heart is yet a rubber power,
Though on their necks the tyrant stands,
Magyars will know their reins hour;
Young nursling of Vienna's halls,
Thou'lt see it yet from Buda's walls.

Ha! to the brave and noble land,
There's room for each, for all of you;
Our arms, our hearts, our hopes are free,
To greet you—a warm welcoming.

Troy, N. Y., December 13, 1849.

[*] "Curse him, people of the Magyars,"
Kossuth's Address.

[†] And then, O youthful monarch of the Hungarians!
I forget not that my nation's cut down for thee. Heaven
inspires me to confident that the day will dawn when
it shall be proved to thee, even on the ruined walls of Buda.
Kossuth's Address to his Country.

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE ON THE TEXAN BOUNDARY.

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

I herewith transmit to the two Houses of Congress a letter from his Excellency the Governor of Texas, dated on the 14th day of June last, addressed to the late President of the United States, which, not having been answered by him, came to my hands on his death; and I also transmit a copy of the answer which I have felt it to be my duty to cause to be made to that communication.

Congress will perceive that the Governor of Texas officially announces that the Legislature of that State, he dispatched a special Commissioner, with full power and instructions to extend the jurisdiction of the State over the unorganized counties of El Paso, Worth, Presidio, and Santa Fe, situated on its northwestern limits.

He proceeds to say that the Commissioner had reported to him, in an official form, that the military officers employed in the service of the United States, stationed at Santa Fe, interposed adversely with the inhabitants to the fulfilment of his object, by their influence and authority, and in opposition to those who may commit treason against the State, according to the forms provided by the State Constitution and the laws. But all this power is local, and confined entirely within the limits of Texas herself. She can possibly confer no authority which can be lawfully exercised beyond her own limits. All this is plain, and hardly needs argument or elucidation. If Texan nullista, therefore, march into any one of the other States or into any Territory of the United States, for the purpose of enforce any law of Texas, they become at that moment trespassers; they are no looger under the protection of any lawful authority, and are to be regarded merely as lawless intruders, within such State or Territory they obstruct any law of the United States, either by power of arms or mere power of numbers, constituting such obstruction as is too powerful to be suppressed by the civil authority, the President of the United States has no option left to him, but is bound to obey the solemn injunction laid upon him by that instrument and by the acts of Congress.

Or if any civil posse, armed or unarmed, enter into any Territory of the United States, with intent to seize individuals, to be carried elsewhere for trial, for alleged offences, and this posse be too powerful to be resisted by the local civil authorities, such civil posse is equally to be met by force, sensed or resisted by the authority of the United States.

The grave and important question now arises, whether there be in the Territory of New Mexico any existing law of the United Sestes, opposition to which, or the obstruction of which, would constitute a case for the due interposition of the authority vested in the President.

The Constitution of the United States declares that "this Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made or which shall be made under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land." If, therefore, the New Mexico be a territory of the United States, and if any treaty stipulation be in force therein, such treaty stipulation is the supreme law of the land, and is to be maintained and upheld accordingly.

In the letter to the Governor of Texas my reasons are given for believing that New Mexico is now a Territory of the United States, in the same extent and the same boundaries which belonged to it while in the actual possession of the Republic of Mexico, and before the late war. In the early part of that war, both California and New Mexico were conquered by the arms of the United States, and were in the military possession of the United States at the conclusion of the treaty of peace. By that treaty the title by conquest was confirmed, and these Territories, Provinces, or Departments, separated from Mexico forever; and by the express treaty all previous vested rights and securities were solemnly guaranteed to the inhabitants residing therein.

By the fifth article of the treaty it is declared that

"The boundary line between the two Republics shall commence in the Gulf of Mexico three leagues from land, opposite the mouth of the Rio Grande, otherwise called the Rio Bravo del Norte, or opposite the mouth of its deepest branch, if it should have more than one branch, emptying directly into the sea; from thence up the middle of that river, following the deepest channel, where it has more than one, to the point where it strikes the southern boundary of New Mexico; thence westwardly along the whole southern boundary of New Mexico, (which runs North of the town called Paso,) to its western termination; thence northward, along the western line of New Mexico, until it intersects the first branch of the river Gila; or if it should not intersect any branch of that river, then to the point on the said line nearest to the head thereof, and thence in a direct line to the same; thence down the middle of the said branch and of the said river until it empties into the Rio Colorado; thence across the Rio Colorado, following the division line between Upper and Lower California, to the Pacific ocean."

The eighth article of the treaty is in the following terms:

"Mexicans now established in Territories previously belonging to Mexico, and which remain for the future within the limits of the United States, as defined by the present treaty, shall be free to continue where they now reside, or to remove at any time to the Mexican Republic, retaining the property which they possess in the said Territories, or disposing thereof, and removing the proceeds wherever they please, without their being subjected on this account to any contribution, tax, or charge whatever.

"Those who shall prefer to remain in the said Territories may either retain the title and rights of Mexican citizens, or acquire those of citizens of the United States. But they shall be under the obligation to make their election within one year from the date of the exchange of ratifications of this treaty; and those who shall remain in the said Territories after the expiration of that year, without having declared their intention to retain the character of Mexicans, shall be considered to have elected to become citizens of the United States."

"In the said Territories property of every kind now belonging to Mexicans not established there, shall be inviolably respected. The present owners, the heirs of these, and all Mexicans who may hereafter acquire said property by contract, shall enjoy with respect to it guarantees equally ample as if the same belonged to citizens of the United States."

The ninth article of the treaty is in these words:

"The Mexicans who in the Territories aforesaid, shall not preserve the character of the citizens of the Mexican Republic, conformably with what is stipulated in the preceding article, shall be incorporated into the Union of the United States, and admitted at the proper time (to be judged of by the Congress of the United States) to the enjoyment of all the rights of citizens of the United States according to the principles of the Federal constitution; and, in the mean time, shall be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty and property, and secured in the free exercise of their religion, without restriction."

It is plain, therefore, on the face of these treaty stipulations, that all Mexicans established in said Territories previous to the exchange of the ratify mentioned, come within the protection of the 9th article; and that the treaty, being a part of the supreme law of the land, does extend over and cover the inhabitants with the shield of security in the free enjoyment of their liberty and property, as well as in the free exercise of their religion; and this supreme law of the land being of binding force over all the territory, it is to be maintained and enforced until it shall be displaced or superseded by other legal provisions; and if it be forcibly resisted by unlawful combinations too powerful to be suppressed by the civil authority, the case is one which comes within the provisions of law, and which obliges the President to employ such force as may be necessary to suppress such resistance. The Executive Government of the United States has no power or authority to determine what was the true line of boundary between Mexico and the United States, before the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo; nor has it any such power now, since the question has become a question between the State of Texas and the United States. So far as this boundary is doubtful, that doubt can only be removed by some act of Congress, to which the assent of the State of Texas may be necessary, or by some appropriate mode of legal adjudication, to which Texas must be a party. But, in the event of disturbances or collisions arise, or should be threatened, it is absolutely incumbent on the Executive Government of the United States to do its duty, to the extent that the laws are faithfully maintained. And he can regard only the actual state of things as it existed at the date of the treaty, and the rights of the inhabitants, whose rights were then established, and who now remain north and east of the line of demarkation, in the full enjoyment of their liberty and property, according to the stipulations of the treaty; in other words, that all must now be regarded as New Mexico by ellipsis, and as possessed and occupied as New Mexico by citizens of the United States. But if the exact line of boundary shall be established by competent authority. This assertion of duty to protect the people of New Mexico, whether threatened with or from seizure to be carried into Texas for trial for alleged offences against Texan laws, does not at all include any claim of power on the part of the Executive Government to hold any military government within that Territory. *That power* belongs exclusively to the Legislative department, and Congress is the only tribunal to which the people of New Mexico can look for the time and manner of unsetting or authorizing any such Government. The duty of the Executive extends only to the execution of laws and the maintenance of constitutional rights. And it is under the shield of this duty that the inhabitants of the Territory, for the assistance, in their proceedings for establishing a Government of their own. There is no room to suppose that the Executive, the officer which most distinguished for prudence and discretion as for gallant conduct in arms, meant to act, or did act, otherwise than in entire subordination and subservicncy to the will of the people among whom he was placed. He was not authorized to do, nor do I understand him as intending to do, anything whatever in his military character, nor to represent in any way the wishes of the Executive Government of the United States.

To judge intelligently and fairly of these transactions, we must call to mind distinctly the circumstances of the case, as they then existed. Previous to the war with Mexico, which commenced in May, 1846, and received the sanction of Congress on the 13th of that month, the Territory of New Mexico formed a Department or State of the Mexican Republic, and was governed by her laws. General Kearny, acting under orders from the Executive Government, took possession and established a civil government for the people, and under the name of New Mexico." By that proclamation he promised to protect the inhabitants of New Mexico in their persons and property, and to secure to them the rights of which they were entitled under the constitution and laws of the State of which they formed a part, but assured them that the United States intended to provide for them a free Government, where the people would be called upon to exercise the rights of self-government, and to participate in the benefits of our free institutions.

On the same day he established a Territorial Constitution by an organic law, which was to continue in force during the pleasure of the United States, and an award of an indemnity to be made by them. This would be but a species of arbitration, which might last as long as a suit at law.

So far we are able to understand the case, the general facts are now all known, and Congress is as capable of deciding on it justly and properly now, as it probably would be after the report of Commissioners.

If the claim of title on the part of Texas appear to Congress to be well founded, in whole or in part, it is in the competency of Congress to offer her an indemnity for the surrender of that claim. In a case like this, surrounded as it is by many cogent considerations, all sailing for and while negotiation and settlement are pending, the Government of the United States would be justified, in my opinion, in allowing an indemnity to Texas, not unreasonable and extravagant, but fair, liberal, and awarded in a just spirit of accommodation.

I think no event would be halted with more gratification by the people of the United States than the amicable arrangement of questions of difficulty, which have now for a long time agitated the country, and occupied, to the exclusion of other subjects, the time and attention of Congress.

Having thus freely communicated the results of my own reflections on the most seriously topic of adjusting the boundary question, I shall nevertheless cheerfully acquiesce in any other mode which the wisdom of Congress may devise.

And, in the event of a satisfactory adjustment of this question, I shall not hesitate to recommend that every consideration of the public interest manifests the necessity of a provision by Congress for the settlement of this boundary question before its present session shall terminate. Every day's delay in the settlement of other questions connected with the same subject, within the same period, is greatly to be desired; but the adjustment of this appears to me to be in the highest degree important. In the train of such an adjustment, we may well hope that there will follow a return of harmony and good feeling between the people of the two States, and the general satisfaction of the country.

MILLARD FILLMORE.

Washington, August 6, 1850.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, August 5, 1850.

SIR: A letter addressed by you to the late President of the United States, and dated on the 16th of June last, has, since his lamented decease, been submitted to me by his successor, by whom I am directed to transmit to you the following answer:

In that letter you say that, by the authority of the Legislature of Texas, the Executive of that State, in February last, despatched a special Commissioner, with full power and instructions to extend the jurisdiction of that State over the unorganized counties of El Paso, Worth, Presidio, and Santa Fe, situated upon its northwestern limits; and that the Commissioner has reported that, in the execution of his trust, the military officers employed in the service of the United States, stationed at Santa Fe, interposed adversely with the inhabitants to the fulfilment of his object, by their influence and authority, in favor of the establishment of a separate State Government east of the Rio Grande, and within the rightful limits of the State of Texas. You also proceed to say that you are informed that the present Executive Government of the United States has not only failed to withdraw the troops of the United States, stationed at Santa Fe, interposed adversely with the inhabitants to the fulfilment of his object, by their influence and authority, in favor of the establishment of a separate State Government east of the Rio Grande, and within the rightful limits of the State of Texas. You also proceed to say that you are informed that the present Executive Government of the United States has not only failed to withdraw the troops of the United States, stationed at Santa Fe, but has even threatened to employ them to prevent the execution of the civil authority, and to punish those who may commit treason against the State, according to the forms provided by the State Constitution and the laws. But all this power is local, and confined entirely within the limits of Texas herself. She can possibly confer no authority which can be lawfully exercised beyond her own limits. All this is plain, and hardly needs argument or elucidation. If Texan nullista, therefore, march into any one of the other States or into any Territory of the United States, for the purpose of enforce any law of Texas, they become at that moment trespassers; they are no looger under the protection of any lawful authority, and are to be regarded merely as lawless intruders, within such State or Territory they obstruct any law of the United States, either by power of arms or mere power of numbers, constituting such obstruction as is too powerful to be suppressed by the civil authority, the President of the United States has no option left to him, but is bound to obey the solemn injunction laid upon him by that instrument and by the acts of Congress.

Or if any civil posse, armed or unarmed, enter into any Territory of the United States, with intent to seize individuals, to be carried elsewhere for trial, for alleged offences, and this posse be too powerful to be resisted by the local civil authorities, such civil posse is equally to be met by force, sensed or resisted by the authority of the United States.

The grave and important question now arises, whether there be in the Territory of New Mexico any existing law of the United Sestes, opposition to which, or the obstruction of which, would constitute a case for the due interposition of the authority vested in the President.

The Constitution of the United States declares that "this Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made or which shall be made under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land." If, therefore, the New Mexico be a territory of the United States, and if any treaty stipulation be in force therein, such treaty stipulation is the supreme law of the land, and is to be maintained and upheld accordingly.

In the letter to the Governor of Texas my reasons are given for believing that New Mexico is now a Territory of the United States, in the same extent and the same boundaries which belonged to it while in the actual possession of the Republic of Mexico, and before the late war. In the early part of that war, both California and New Mexico were conquered by the arms of the United States, and were in the military possession of the United States at the conclusion of the treaty of peace. By that treaty the title by conquest was confirmed, and these Territories, Provinces, or Departments, separated from Mexico forever; and by the express treaty all previous vested rights and securities were solemnly guaranteed to the inhabitants residing therein.

By the fifth article of the treaty it is declared that

"The boundary line between the two Republics shall commence in the Gulf of Mexico three leagues from land, opposite the mouth of the Rio Grande, otherwise called the Rio Bravo del Norte, or opposite the mouth of its deepest branch, if it should have more than one branch, emptying directly into the sea; from thence up the middle of that river, following the deepest channel, where it has more than one, to the point where it strikes the southern boundary of New Mexico; thence westwardly along the whole southern boundary of New Mexico, (which runs North of the town called Paso,) to its western termination; thence northward, along the western line of New Mexico, until it intersects the first branch of the river Gila; or if it should not intersect any branch of that river, then to the point on the said line nearest to the head thereof, and thence in a direct line to the same; thence down the middle of the said branch and of the said river until it empties into the Rio Colorado; thence across the Rio Colorado, following the division line between Upper and Lower California, to the Pacific ocean."

The eighth article of the treaty is in the following terms:

"Mexicans now established in Territories previously belonging to Mexico, and which remain for the future within the limits of the United States, as defined by the present treaty, shall be free to continue where they now reside, or to remove at any time to the Mexican Republic, retaining the property which they possess in the said Territories, or disposing thereof, and removing the proceeds wherever they please, without their being subjected on this account to any contribution, tax, or charge whatever.

"Those who shall prefer to remain in the said Territories may either retain the title and rights of Mexican citizens, or acquire those of citizens of the United States. But they shall be under the obligation to make their election within one year from the date of the exchange of ratifications of this treaty; and those who shall remain in the said Territories after the expiration of that year, without having declared their intention to retain the character of Mexicans, shall be considered to have elected to become citizens of the United States."

"In the said Territories property of every kind now belonging to Mexicans not established there, shall be inviolably respected. The present owners, the heirs of these, and all Mexicans who may hereafter acquire said property by contract, shall enjoy with respect to it guarantees equally ample as if the same belonged to citizens of the United States."

The ninth article of the treaty is in these words:

"The Mexicans who in the Territories aforesaid, shall not preserve the character of the citizens of the Mexican Republic, conformably with what is stipulated in the preceding article, shall be incorporated into the Union of the United States, and admitted at the proper time (to be judged of by the Congress of the United States) to the enjoyment of all the rights of citizens of the United States according to the principles of the Federal constitution; and, in the mean time, shall be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty and property, and secured in the free exercise of their religion, without restriction."

It is plain, therefore, on the face of these treaty stipulations, that all Mexicans established in said Territories previous to the exchange of the ratify mentioned, come within the protection of the 9th article; and that the treaty, being a part of the supreme law of the land, does extend over and cover the inhabitants with the shield of security in the free enjoyment of their liberty and property, as well as in the free exercise of their religion; and this supreme law of the land being of binding force over all the territory, it is to be maintained and enforced until it shall be displaced or superseded by other legal provisions; and if it be forcibly resisted by unlawful combinations too powerful to be suppressed by the civil authority, the case is one which comes within the provisions of law, and which obliges the President to employ such force as may be necessary to suppress such resistance. The Executive Government of the United States has no power or authority to determine what was the true line of boundary between Mexico and the United States, before the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo; nor has it any such power now, since the question has become a question between the State of Texas and the United States. So far as this boundary is doubtful, that doubt can only be removed by some act of Congress, to which the assent of the State of Texas may be necessary, or by some appropriate mode of legal adjudication, to which Texas must be a party. But, in the event of disturbances or collisions arise, or should be threatened, it is absolutely incumbent on the Executive Government of the United States to do its duty, to the extent that the laws are faithfully maintained. And he can regard only the actual state of things as it existed at the date of the treaty, and the rights of the inhabitants whose rights were then established, and who now remain north and east of the line of demarkation, in the full enjoyment of their liberty and property, according to the stipulations of the treaty; in other words, that all must now be regarded as New Mexico by ellipsis, and as possessed and occupied as New Mexico by citizens of the United States. But if the exact line of boundary shall be established by competent authority. This assertion of duty to protect the people of New Mexico, whether threatened with or from seizure to be carried into Texas for trial for alleged offences against Texan laws, does not at all include any claim of power on the part of the Executive Government to hold any military government within that Territory. *That power* belongs exclusively to the Legislative department, and Congress is the only tribunal to which the people of New Mexico can look for the time and manner of unsetting or authorizing any such Government. The duty of the Executive extends only to the execution of laws and the maintenance of constitutional rights. And it is under the shield of this duty that the inhabitants of the Territory, for the assistance, in their proceedings for establishing a Government of their own. There is no room to suppose that the Executive, the officer which distinguished for prudence and discretion as for gallant conduct in arms, meant to act, or did act, otherwise than in entire subordination and subservicncy to the will of the people among whom he was placed. He was not authorized to do, nor do I understand him as intending to do, anything whatever in his military character, nor to represent in any way the wishes of the Executive Government of the United States.

To judge intelligently and fairly of these transactions, we must call to mind distinctly the circumstances of the case, as they then existed. Previous to the war with Mexico, which commenced in May, 1846, and received the sanction of Congress on the 13th of that month, the Territory of New Mexico formed a Department or State of the Mexican Republic, and was governed by her laws. General Kearny, acting under orders from the Executive Government, took possession and established a civil government for the people, and under the name of New Mexico." By that proclamation he promised to protect the inhabitants of New Mexico in their persons and property, and to secure to them the rights of which they were entitled under the constitution and laws of the State of which they formed a part, but assured them that the United States intended to provide for them a free Government, where the people would be called upon to exercise the rights of self-government, and to participate in the benefits of our free institutions.

On the same day he established a Territorial Constitution by an organic law, which was to continue in force during the pleasure of the United States, and an award of an indemnity to be made by them. This would be but a species of arbitration, which might last as long as a suit at law.

So far we are able to understand the case, the general facts are now all known, and Congress is as capable of deciding on it justly and properly now, as it probably would be after the report of Commissioners.

If the claim of title on the part of Texas appear to Congress to be well founded, in whole or in part, it is in the competency of Congress to offer her an indemnity for the surrender of that claim. In a case like this, surrounded as it is by many cogent considerations, all sailing for and while negotiation and settlement are pending, the Government of the United States would be justified, in my opinion, in allowing an indemnity to Texas, not unreasonable and extravagant, but fair, liberal, and awarded in a just spirit of accommodation.

I think no event would be halted with more gratification by the people of the United States than the amicable arrangement of questions of difficulty, which have now for a long time agitated the country, and occupied, to the exclusion of other subjects, the time and attention of Congress.

Having thus freely communicated the results of my own reflections on the most seriously topic of adjusting the boundary question, I shall nevertheless cheerfully acquiesce in any other mode which the wisdom of Congress may devise.

And, in the event of a satisfactory adjustment of this question, I shall not hesitate to recommend that every consideration of the public interest manifests the necessity of a provision by Congress for the settlement of this boundary question before its present session shall terminate. Every day's delay in the settlement of other questions connected with the same subject, within the same period, is greatly to be desired; but the adjustment of this appears to me to be in the highest degree important. In the train of such an adjustment, we may well hope that there will follow a return of harmony and good feeling between the people of the two States, and the general satisfaction of the country.

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The Constitution of the United States declares that "this Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made or which shall be made under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land." If, therefore, the New Mexico be a territory of the United States, and if any treaty stipulation be in force therein, such treaty stipulation is the supreme law of the land, and is to be maintained and upheld accordingly.

In the letter to the Governor of Texas my reasons are given for believing that New Mexico is now a Territory of the United States, in the same extent and the same boundaries which belonged to it while in the actual possession of the Republic of Mexico, and before the late war. In the early part of that war, both California and New Mexico were conquered by the arms of the United States, and were in the military possession of the United States at the conclusion of the treaty of peace. By that treaty the title by conquest was confirmed, and these Territories, Provinces, or Departments, separated from Mexico forever; and by the express treaty all previous vested rights and securities were solemnly guaranteed to the inhabitants residing therein.

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"Those who shall prefer to remain in the said Territories may either retain the title and rights of Mexican citizens, or acquire those of citizens of the United States. But they shall be under the obligation to make their election within one year from the date of the exchange of ratifications of this treaty; and those who shall remain in the said Territories after the expiration of that year, without having declared their intention to retain the character of Mexicans, shall be considered to have elected to become citizens of the United States."

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